1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
~~Dixon Hoyn Maria~~

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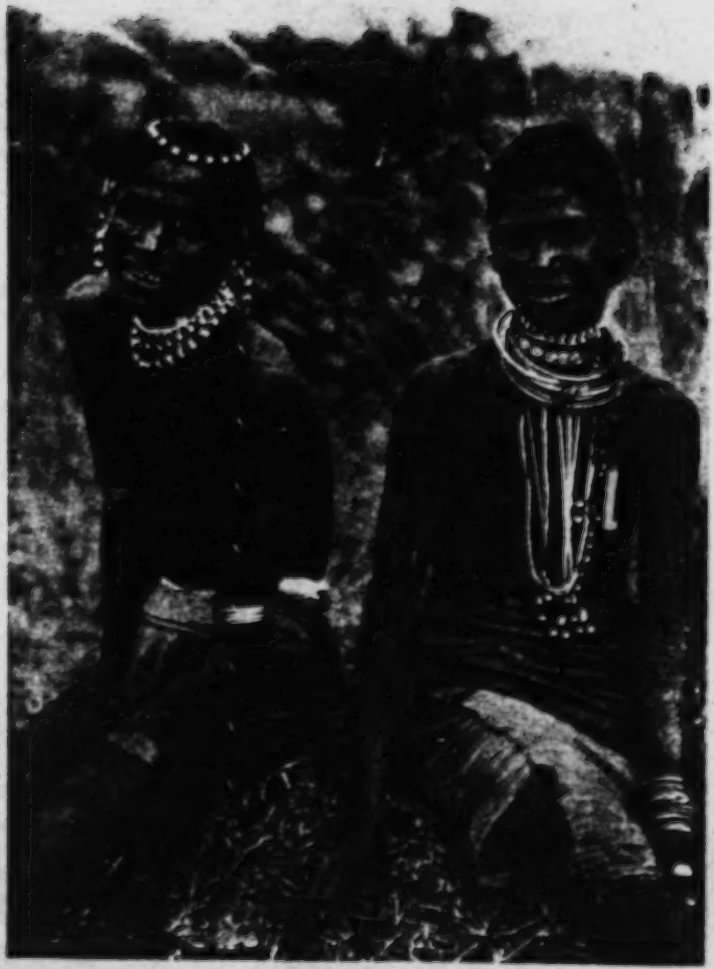

HILL MARIA YOUTH AND GIRL
(Photograph by Baron E. von Eickstedt)

[facing p. 111]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison horn Maria

Koyas, since it alone, being greatly corrupted by Telugu, presents any marked difference from the Maria and Muria dialects.

Intermarriage is frequent between the Bison-horn Marias of the plateaux and those at the foot of the passes, but now never occurs between them and the Dorla, the latter having become a true endogamous group.[1]

The Koyas of the Malkangiri taluq of Jeypore, across the Bastar border from the Sukma zamindari and north-east Konta, seem on the contrary to be Bison-horn Marias.[2] Intermarriage still takes place between the Marias of Sukma and the 'Koyas' of Malkangiri; and these same Sukma clans intermarry with the clans on the Dantewara and Jagdalpur plateaux. In fact, intermarriage is not unknown between Dantewara and Malkangiri clans, and it is not unusual for a man wanted by the police in Dantewara to abscond to his fellow-tribesmen, possibly relatives, in Malkangiri. The headmen of Edpal and Dodpal on the Dantewara-Sukma border stated that the Koitor of Malkangiri had migrated there some generations back from the Bailadila mountains, and named relatives among them belonging to the Sodi clan. Bailadila had in fact been practically deserted long before its inclusion in the Bailadila Forest Reserve; and some superstition attaches to it which prevents surrounding Maria clans from settling there, though more than one attempt has been made to found permanent forest villages so as to obviate the labour now entailed on the villages below when the Maharaja and his officials go there for the hot weather. The most tempting offers fail to attract settlers; even as labourers the Marias profess fear of staying on the hills unless accompanied by a European, over whom Elma Pen, the god of the mountain, has no power. The only chance, they say, of re-settling the place is to get hold of a descendant of the original inhabitant, preferably of the clan-priest (*modul-waddai*), who knows the godlings and demons of the hills.

[p.58 is blank]

[1] Glasfurd in the ethnological papers already quoted commented thus on physical differences between the lowlanders and highlanders of South Bastar. 'The Koys are very dark, quite as much so as the Telingas; while the Gottawars and Marias are generally copper-coloured, some being quite fair. Their faces are rather broad than long, and they have small eyes, which, with the almost entire absence of hair on the face, gives these altogether a strongly marked Tartar-like physiognomy.'

[2] It is important to remember that the Dorla also use bison-horn or buffalo-horn dancing head-dresses, and in other ways also show that they were once the same people as those whom I term Bison-horn Marias, as indeed the traditions of both peoples have been seen to assert.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Chapter IV

Personal Appearance; Physical Powers and Endurance; Bodily Attitudes; Cleanliness; Hair-dressing; Dress and Ornaments of (a) Hill, (b) Bison-horn Marias; Weapons and Tools

142 To the amateur observer few things are so hard as correctly to record the physical appearance of tribes, and I must leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from the illustrations of individuals in Plates I, V to VII, XI, XV, XVII to XIX and XXIII, and the Appendix on anthropometric measurements by Mr. R. C. Roy. Certain very general remarks may, however, be made. In stature Marias of both types seem greater than the average Central Provinces Gond; though the general average for men may not exceed 5 ft. 5 in., yet tall individuals are by no means unknown, especially among the Bison-horn Marias of the Dantewara valley and the adjacent parts of the Jagdalpur tahsil; there were two convict warders undergoing twelve years' sentences for murder in Jagdalpur Jail until recently from near Palnar, between Kuakonda and Aranpur, who were fine physical specimens and nearly 6 ft. in height. Among the Hill Marias it is perhaps rare to see anyone more than 5 ft. 8 in. high.

Appearance

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142 The ordinary Gond type, dark-skinned, with straight, coarse, black hair, little or no beard and moustache, platyrrhine nose, prognathous, wide, downward-curving mouth with thick lips, in fact 'india-rubber faced', with squat but fairly proportioned body, is not unknown among the Marias, especially the Hill Marias towards the fringes of the hills, and the Bison-horn Marias in contact with the Telugu in the south. But the absence of facial hair has been exaggerated by past observers, possibly because at least in the Abujhmar mountains it is usually the unmarried youths on the verge of manhood who are deputed by the villages as camp followers; men with moustaches or small pointed beards are not uncommon. The growth of hair is much less than that of the European, and a shave is not a frequent necessity. Possibly the Bison-horn Maria grows more than the Hill Maria. Flat noses are not as common as among the Central Provinces Gonds, and at times an almost aquiline nose will be met. The nostrils are, however, always distended, and presumably most Marias of both types would be mesorrhine, tending to platyrrhine with a few leptorrhine

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

142 individuals. The prognathous jaw is common, but far from universal; and one fairly often meets fair individuals with pointed faces tapering towards the chin. Young girls are frequently [304] graceful, light in colour, and, but for the disfigurements of tattooing, often pretty; but with age and child-bearing, long journeys to the market and heavy field work, they soon coarsen and darken. [551] Colour varies from nearly black to pale copper; but really black skins are uncommon enough to give rise to names or nicknames. The copper complexion is perhaps commoner among the Bison-horn than the Hill Marias, but the really pale copper face is more often met in the hills. Lips are full rather than thick. Eyes are almost invariably brown; I have met occasional individuals with grey or greenish-grey eyes accompanied by hair of a dirty rust colour and light complexions. The hair is black and generally straight, but many have natural waves that would do credit to European coiffeurs, and a few have naturally frizzy hair. Some young 'bloods' [302] among the Bison-horn Marias seem to have artificially curled hair. [164] The teeth are usually worn down, discoloured and neglected, and caries is common. The richer Bison-horn headmen sometimes have [304] small gold plugs, the size of a pin's head, inserted in the front of their upper front teeth.

[516] The bodies are usually well developed, and the easy, upright carriage of the Maria displays to advantage his good chest, buttocks and calves. The Hill Maria seldom if ever carries

482 **Physical powers and endurance** weights on his head, but on his left shoulder, supported by his left arm bent over the top of his burden. Actually he regards the woman as the natural carrier, as may be seen when he goes with her to the market, and almost the only time when he may be seen carrying loads is when he acts as a carrier for a touring official. It is actually recorded that at one time he used to send his women for this work; but he has long given this up, possibly through experience of the less pleasant ways of subordinate State servants. Young hill girls and women carry heavy baskets or leaf-boxes of grain, logs of wood, water-pots or other weights on their heads, generally supporting the burden with their left hands holding its upper edge above their heads. With 439 loads of grain for sale, and perhaps piles of baskets, brooms or mats, 484 the Hill Maria housewife will go once a month to the bazaar, often from thirty-five to forty miles away, in the plains, while her menfolk [462] take nothing but bow and arrow or, very occasionally, big baskets made for storing grain, which only males may make. From Kurmer, for example, on the Kutru-Antagarh border where the hill-streams begin to flow south to the Indrawati, they go thirty-nine miles to the market at Dhaurai, between Narainpur and Chhota

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

PLATE V

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A HILL MARIA, OF THE GOND TYPE
Usendi Muka of Orcha

GROUP OF HILL MARIA GIRLS
(Photograph by Mr. K. L. B. Hamilton, C.I.E., I.C.S.)

[FACING p. 62]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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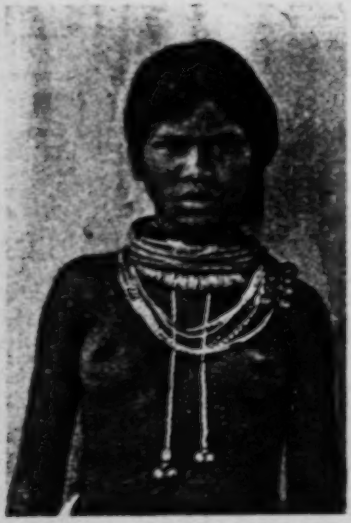

Full-face, Jugho Chero, of Itulnar

Hill Maria of Handawada
(*Photograph by Baron E. von Eickstedt*)

Kutru Mar youths, wearing *taghali* bark overcoats

[Facing p. 70]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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HILL MARIA WOMEN CARRYING GOURDS OF WATER

HILL MARIA WOMAN CARRYING A LEAF-BOX OF GRAIN

(Photographs by Baron E. von Eickstedt)

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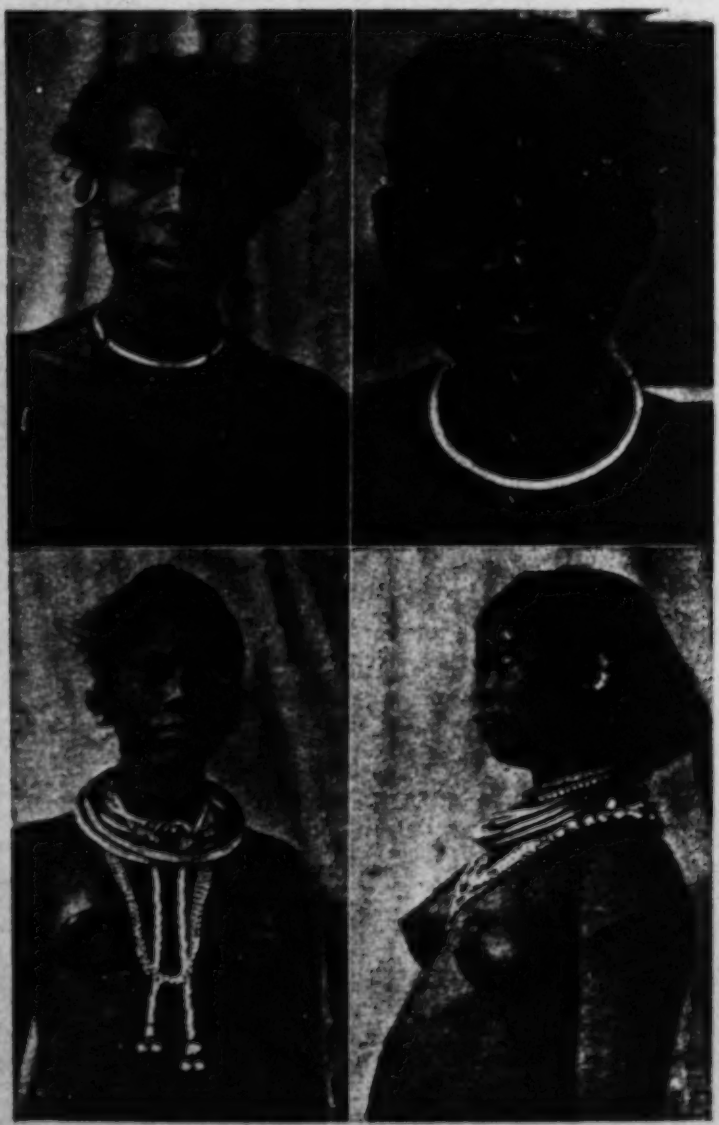
BISON-HORN MARIA VILLAGE STREET, TELAM, NEAR KATAKALIAN

[FACING p. 118]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

PLATE XVII



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HILL MARIA TYPES

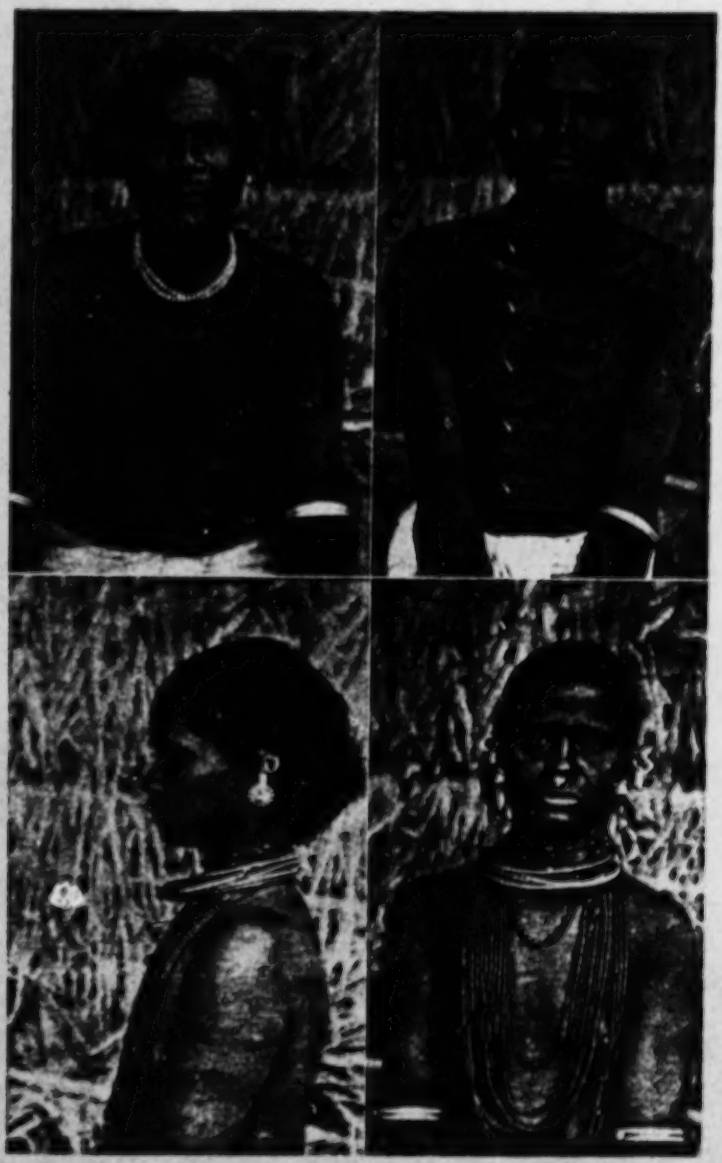
Above Arki Baiyya of Korswaya — Gecha Poia of Chudala Tondawada
Below Jugho Buke of Itulnar — Guma Ewado of Goti

[FACING p. 226]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

PLATE XVIII



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BISON-HORN MARIA TYPES

Above Markami Harma of Burgum Markami Joga, headman of Burgum

Below Mase, wife of Markami Muka of Kakadi

[facing p. 240]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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An old Bison-horn Maria from Gudra, between Katakalian and Kuakonda [Face p. 254]

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PLATE XIX

The pouring of water over the bridegroom and bride at the Bison-horn Maria wedding described at p. 258

[facing p.254]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Appendix V

Anthropometric Analysis of the Hill and Bison-horn Marias

By Mr. Ramesh Chandra Roy, M.Sc., B.L.,
Joint Editor, *Man in India*

I accompanied Mr. W. V. Grigson in his March 1934 tour in the Hill and Bison-horn Maria country of the Bastar State, and was able to measure 100 Hill Maria and 50 Bison-horn Maria males; a severe attack of fever unfortunately prevented me from measuring as many Bison-horn as Hill Marias. I measured the Hill Marias in the Abujhmar hills camps at Orcha, Adeq, Itulnar, Hikul and Handawada from these and adjacent Hill villages in the *parganas* of Chhota Dongar Mar, Kutru Mar, Bhairamgarh Mar, and Barsur (Dantewara) Mar. The Bison-horn Marias were nearly all measured in the camp at Aranpur in Dantewara tahsil, near the head of the pass leading down from the Dantewara plateau to the Dorla country of the Konta tahsil; the men were mostly from Aranpur and Chameli *parganas*. I append tables summarizing the results of my measurements; space has forbidden the reproduction here of the long tables of individual measurements, which I hope subsequently to publish elsewhere. I have followed R. Martin's anthropometric technique.

General description

Both Hill and Bison-horn Marias are generally of medium stature, though tall and short individuals are not uncommon. The mean heights of those measured were 162·7 cm. Hill, and 161·7 cm. Bison-horn Maria. They are very well built, with well-proportioned body and limbs. Their skin colour varies from pale wheat to light black (the actual figures were: out of 100 Hill Marias, 9 light brown, 60 brown, 16 dark brown and 15 light black; out of 50 Bison-horn Marias, 3 pale wheat, 5 light brown, 26 brown, 9 dark brown and 7 light black). They have a thick growth of hair on the head, but often cut it short or even shave it in front and round the peripheral region of the head, leaving a long crown-tuft. They have very little facial and body hair, and even those who can grow sparse beards and moustaches often have them clean shaved. The hair is black or dark brown, and is wavy or curly.

Their foreheads are retreating, but straight foreheads are not rare; of 100 Hill Maria foreheads 16 were straight, 57 slightly

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

retreating and 27 retreating. The corresponding figures for 50 Bison-horn foreheads were 4, 35 and 11. The supra-orbital ridges are not generally as well developed as those of some other Pre-Dravidian tribes.

The eye-slits are straight, but oblique eyes occasionally occur. I did not see a single epicanthic fold, or even a tendency to one. The eyes are generally black, often with a reddish hue, but grey and dark brown eyes also occur. The nasal root is slightly or moderately depressed, with a straight nasal bridge, though a concave nasal bridge is not uncommon. The nose is rather broad with fairly broad nostrils.

The lips are as a rule thick, but thin and medium lips are also occasionally found. The lower lip is often slightly or moderately everted, or tends to be everted.

The face is frequently oval and prognathous, and the malars and zygomatic arches are generally well marked. The usual chin is oval, but square chins occur. The mandibular angle is rather broad, and the face in consequence pentagonal, round or square.

The women have generally a round or oval face, concave platyrrhine noses and everted lips. Their nipples are very big and plug-like, resembling those of Negro women.

Indices

Analysis of the metric data gives the following results[1]:—

Cephalic Index. The classification of the men measured was:—

	Hill Maria	*Bison-horn Maria*
Dolichocephalic	75	30, or 60%
Mesocephalic	22	17, or 34%
Brachycephalic	3	3, or 6%
TOTAL	100	50

The Hill Maria cephalic index averaged 76·16 ± ·22, ranging from 67·5 to 83·2, and the Bison-horn Maria 76·21 ± ·27, ranging from 68·8 to 86·0.

Length-Height Head Index. The classification of the men measured was:—

	Hill Maria	*Bison-horn Maria*
Hypsicephalic	77	36, or 72%
Orthocephalic	18	14, or 28%
Platycephalic	5	Nil
TOTAL	100	50

[1] For classifications, see Haddon, *Races of Man*, pp. 10-12.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Altitudinal Index averaged 65·11 ± ·24 for Hill Marias, ranging from 55·3 to 78·3, and 64·81 ± ·31 for Bison-horn Marias, ranging from 58·3 to 71·7.

Nasal Index. The classification of the men measured was :—

	Hill Maria	*Bison-horn Maria*
Leptorrhine	8	1, or 2%
Mesorrhine	58	30, or 60%
Platyrrhine	34	19, or 38%
TOTAL	100	50

The Hill Maria nasal index averaged 81·51 ± ·48, ranging from 61·1 to 97·7, and the Bison-horn Maria 82·9 ± ·65, ranging from 65·4 to 98·0.

Morphological Facial Index.[1] The classification of the men measured was :—

	Hill Maria	*Bison-horn Maria*
Hyper-europrosopy	11	5, or 10%
Europrosopy	28	18, or 36%
Mesoprosopy	31	18, or 36%
Leptoprosopy	26	8, or 16%
Hyper-leptoprosopy	4	1, or 2%
TOTAL	100	50

The Hill Maria morphological facial index averaged 85·63 ± ·33, ranging from 73·4 to 97·4, and the Bison-horn Maria 84·6 ± ·36, ranging from 76·1 to 96·7.

How far are the Hill and Bison-horn Marias alike in their physical features?

Comparison of Hill and Bison-horn Marias

At first sight one notices that the Bison-horn Marias are a little lighter in skin colour than the Hill Marias. But if we look to the comparative tables (Tables I and II below) of the means with probable errors for the different absolute measurements and indices, we shall not hesitate to say that there is very little difference between the two. No doubt if we calculated the probable errors of the respective mean differences and co-efficients of racial likeness our calculations would reveal dissimilarities in most of their characteristics; but these dissimilarities would not be great enough to show any real difference between Hill and Bison-horn Marias. I have, however, refrained from calculating the respective probable errors of the mean differences and co-efficients of racial likeness, because if I

[text continues on p. 317]

[1] Martin, *Anthropometry*, Vol. I.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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Verrier Elwin

Muchaki Pandu, Bison-horn Maria of Gogonda with hunting-horn

Bison-horn Maria of Lakhapal

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Verrier Elwin

[End Plate B]

I: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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Markami Hunga, Bison-horn Maria headman of Maranda

[End Plate C]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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Verrier Elwin

Bison-horn Maria youth of Kakhar in Hill Maria festival dress

[End Plate D]

I: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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Bison-horn Maria dancer

[End Plate E]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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Hill Maria children

Verrier Elwin

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Muchaki Kondi, Bison-horn Maria girl, of Bergum

Verrier Elwin

[End Plate F]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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Bison-horn Maria girls of Mohlipasi

[End Plate 6]

I: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

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Group of Maria girls from Lahiri, Chanda district

W. V. Grigson

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Hill Maria mother and child

Warrior Elwin

[End Plate H]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

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Bison-horn Maria girl brings in the harvest

[Verrier Elwin]

[End Plate J]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

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Hill Maria playing stringed instrument

[End Plate ZC]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

142
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415
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The shells are around

[frontispiece]

142
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Plate III

ABOVE: Motiari of Sirpuri, showing method of arranging combs

BELOW: The Gujaro, Sulk and Mularo of the Barko ghotul

[p.12 (A)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

Plate IV

147
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A Muria of Nayanar greets his friends before drinking salphi juice

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

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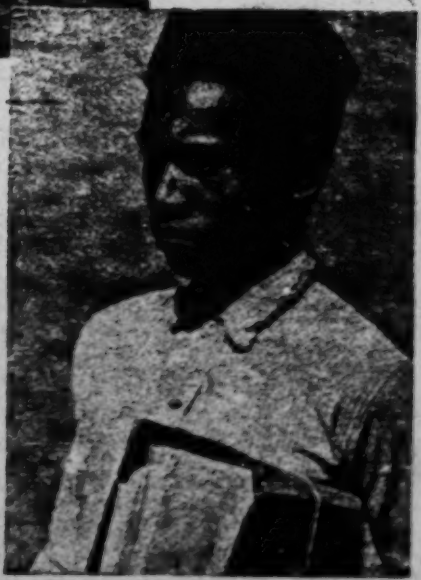
Plate V



A study in contrasts. The two boys are brothers, but one goes to school

[p. 18 (a)]

Plate VI

142
291
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Nati, the priest and landlord of Nayanar

[p. 18 (B)]

INTRODUCTION

619 given up eating beef, and either never had or have abandoned the ghotul system. Their influence is gradually making itself felt in the south of Kondagaon to the east of the road, where the Ghotul Muria call those who have separated themselves from them 'Bhattra'. This is probably the best name for the Raja Muria of Jagdalpur. Indeed it would be a great convenience if we could call the western Muria 'Jhoria', the Muria of Kondagaon 'Muria' and the Muria of Jagdalpur 'Bhattra'. It may be that one day they will call themselves by these titles, and then we can follow suit.

582

However, there is no intermarriage between the Raja Muria or Bara Bhattra of Jagdalpur, but it continues naturally enough with the Bhattra Muria or ordinary Muria just across the border of the tahsil. It is evident, however, that the Muria think of themselves as a single people, related (it is true) to several others, but having one common rallying point in the ghotul founded by Lingo Pen, the father of the tribe.

IV. Physical Characters of the Muria

●142 At the end of February 1942, Dr B. S. Guha, of the Zoological Survey of India, accepted my invitation to visit Bastar in order to examine the physical characters of the Muria. He joined me at Dongrigura in the Kondagaon Tahsil, where he measured 52 adult male Muria, and we then went on to Markabera in the Abujhmar foothills. Here he measured 51 adult male Muria of this and surrounding villages. He has written a detailed account which is printed elsewhere, but the following brief description may be inserted here.

'The difference', he writes, 'between the plains Muria of Kondagaon and the Abujhmar foothills Muria, in all essential physical characters, is hardly significant except to a small extent in the shape of the nose. The latter have a slightly longer, narrower and more prominent nose as compared to the former. This difference may be fortuitous and may disappear if larger samples are taken, a view to which I am provisionally inclined, though the possibility of some genuine difference in this respect between the two cannot be altogether ruled out.

'Taking the two groups together the Muria are a short-statured long-headed race with broad cheek bones and rather short pearish type of face. Alike in the absolute measurements (mean H.L. 185·56±0·35; H.B. 138·56 ±0·29 and mean C.I. 74·72±0·18) and the bulging of the occiput, the head is essentially dolichocephalic; there is hardly any true brachycephaly noticeable. The forehead is on the average well-arched but in an appreciable number it tends to be vertical. The supraorbital ridges vary from moderate to well-marked—in a few they are very prominent. On the whole the face tends to project forwards—approximately one-half of the people being prognathic. The nose is usually flat and broad and the nasal root depressed, the lips thick and the chin retreating. In a small number, however, the face is longish, the lips thin, and the chin well developed and some even show a prominent nose with a tendency to aquilinity.

[141]

'The skin colour is on the average dark chocolate brown, though individuals with brown and even yellowish brown skin colour are not wanting. The hair is black and varies between straight and wavy with a few persons showing curly hair. It is usually very rich on the head but only moderate on the lips and face. The body hair is rather slight.

'The eye colour is generally black and the eye is horizontal but in seven men examined it was undoubtedly oblique and in a few cases traces of the

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

142 epicanthic fold were found in one or both eyes. Among the Hill Muria observed at Markabera, light brown skin colour, high cheek bones and the unmistakable presence of the epicanthic fold were also noticed.

144 'Taking all the characters together, I am inclined to the view that the Muria are not different from the Bhil of the Vindhyan ranges measured by me and belong essentially to what we have termed the Proto-Australoid group. While this is really the basic-type, it is possible that they have absorbed a little of the blood of a finer racial type (as a result probably of their contact with higher caste Hindus across the Godavari) as shown in the occasional occurrences of a longish face, thin lips, prominent chin and well-developed prominent nose. In addition there is unmistakably a Mongoloid element, though very small, and it appears to be more marked in the Hill Maria and the Muria of the foothills than the Muria of the plains. How exactly this has to be accounted for, remains to be seen but I am inclined to agree with Hutton that the intrusion probably came from the eastern coastal regions.'

V. Muria Migrations

174 As we have seen, there are probably at least three different elements in the composition of the Muria tribe. The first is the Hill Maria migration from the mountains into the hills and forests of the south and east, from which has emerged the Jhoria of today. The second is a probable migration of Gond from the Central Provinces into the northern parganas, to which testify common traditions, the legend of Lingo and the continued intermarriage between Kanker Gond and Bastar Muria. The third element is that of east Kondagaon, which may represent the true Bastar autochthon, where the Muria —having been longer in the country than the others—have lost more of their original customs and language.

173 All three elements have traditions of migrations from Warangal in the south and Lanji-Dhamda in the north. Many try to blend the two.

Warangal is, of course, the original home of the ruling family of Bastar, whose ancestors reigned there from about A.D. 1150 to 1425. This Kakatiya family was probably originally feudatory to the Chalukya kings and only later ruled independently. 'Pratap Rudra, the greatest and the last independent Kakatiya king of Warangal, lost his life and independence in battle with the Mohammedan invaders of the Deccan under Ahmad Shah Bahmani early in the fifteenth century and, according to Bastar tradition and folk-song, his brother Annam Deo fled across the Godavari into Bastar, which had been an outlying and loosely-held group of feudal dependencies of Warangal.'[1]

It will be of interest to give a few of the stories still current in Muria villages. Suko Manjhi told me at Bandopal that his family first lived in Lanji-Dhamda and then went to Warangal. In Warangal, he went on,

> The Raja was one day going to court when Danteshwari Mai appeared to him in a vision saying, 'Where are you going?' The Raja replied, 'To my court'. The goddess said, 'This is not your court, nor your kingdom. I will show you where your real kingdom is; if you stay here both house and kingdom will be lost. Come with me; you go ahead and I will follow, but do not look behind; your kingdom will extend as far as you can go!' The Raja went on and on into Bastar and up as far as the Pairi river where there is now the Kanker boundary. As he went along he listened all the time to the sound of Danteshwari

[1] Grigson, op. cit., p. 3.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

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Mottari of Munjmeta listening to the gramophone

[p. 30 (N)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

The Nero of the Tarbaili ghotul

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●142

Plate XLI

Two great friends: Pilsai and his *kosava* at Sidhawand

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Plate XLIX

Uraon dhangar

Uraon dhangri

[p. 242 (A)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32

Plate I.

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301

Iryo, a Hill Maria girl of Bolimori

[p. 242 (B)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Bison-horn Maria

●142
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Bison-horn Maria girl from Gudra,
Bastar State

[p. 278 (a)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Bison-Horn Maria

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516

Hirmo, a Bison-horn Maria girl washing her hands

Plate LIV

Bison-horn Maria dancers

[p. 278(a)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria
Oraon AW39

Uraon dhangri

O.
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Plate LXVII

Motiari of Kongera grinding

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142
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301
252
412

[E 330(4)]

•142

A Lohar boy: the Chowkidar of the Berma ghotul

Plate LXXVI

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Hetiari cleaning the Bandopal ghotul

[p. 364 (B)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

Plate LXXX

X
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●142
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The Malko of the Koilibera ghotul

[?.396(B)]

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

Plate LXXXVIII

142
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The Nero of Tarhaili with bamboo water-contain

[p. 428(2)]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

CHAPTER TWO

THE BISON-HORN MARIA

I

The so-called Maria of Bastar fall naturally into two divisions distinguished by many details of culture and tradition, the Hill Maria of the Abujhmar Mountains and the Bison-horn Maria living to the south of the Indrawati River. A full account of both these tribes has been given by W. V. Grigson, and his book should be read by those who wish to have a fuller background of Maria life than the present volume can supply. In this chapter I will only give a brief summary of the life and customs of the Bison-horn Maria.

The Bison-horn Maria, who are distinguished from the other aboriginals of Bastar by the splendid head-dress they use for their marriage dances, numbered about 156,000 in 1931, and I estimate their present strength at about 175,000. They are distributed all over southern Bastar, among the entrancing hills of Dantewara, in the dry forests of Bijapur, among the hot but lovely lowlands of Konta, in the remote Sukma and Kutru Zamindaris. On the borders of the main Maria stock are a number of communities which really belong to it, the Koya of the extreme south, the Dorla who claim to be a superior caste and the mixed population along the banks of the Indrawati and reaching up towards the Muria country beyond Barsur. The Dorla and Koya dance in Bison-horn Maria fashion; the mixed people to the north combine the customs of the Hill Maria with their own. In the neighbourhood of Jagdalpur, the Maria gradually lose their distinctiveness as they approach the town and merge into the southern Muria.

There are few people in India more attractive than the Bison-horn Maria, physically charming, of good stature, perfect figure, finely featured with carefully tended hair, often a lovely golden-brown in colour. Both men and women are very strong; the men can carry heavy loads great distances, endure long and arduous hunting expeditions and dance all night bearing their great drums. Their health is fairly good, but they are afflicted with yaws, though the work of the

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Girls threshing grain with their feet at Mokhpal

[FACING p. 14]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Oyami Masa with family on the scene of the death of the younger wife

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Oyami Masa with his surviving wife

[Facing p. 15]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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A girl cleans grain in a field at Garmiri; failure in preparing food is sometimes a cause of tragedy

[FACING p.20]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

142
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Bandi of Mokhpal: the typical Maria wife

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Habba Masa, jealous of his wife

[Facing p. 21]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Girl cleaning grain at Tikanpal before a decorated door

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142

Hinga, a Marie girl of Rewali

[facing p. 28]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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H5
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Girls fetching water at Bastanar

[Facing p.32]

3:-Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Maria girl of Mokhpal. Domestic life is usually happy: the rare infidelities quickly lead to revenge

[facing p. 33]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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301
142

'Rice in the mouth and curry in the hand.'
Mother and child figure in several murder cases

[Facing p. 65]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria
Hill Maria

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142

Youth with Hill Maria dancing-dress

Markam Maria wearing head-dress

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Boys preparing head-dress

[Facing p. 80]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

142

Wife and sons at Dorinar await the return of their father Borga from life-imprisonment.

Kawati Borga in jail

[facing p. 112]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Mavvi Boti (48) who, for love of his elder 'brother's' wife, assisted her to murder.

Masu (48) who, helped by her husband's younger 'brother' poisoned her husband

Tati Dōga (90), who killed his elder brother's wife.

[Facing p. 113]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

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Such young girls are very sensitive, unkindness or abuse may quickly drive them to suicide

[FACING p. 128]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

142

Kande Maria, whose father seduced his two wives

Marvi Kuma (58), who killed his son

Panem Pidga (86), who killed his father

Padami Gaddi (72), who killed his mother

[facing p. 129]

3: Elwin, E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

● 142

Veko Dome (98), who was very hungry

Kuhrami Hirmé (32), who, hungry & exhausted, killed a child of ten.

Mavvi Mandra (61), who killed his wife at the end of a long day

[Facing p. 145]

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

Bagori and Jimme who tried to kill her co-wife, after her release from jail

Atami Gatu

The lucky Dogo

[Facing p. 208]